/278 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 17--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 463 595 412 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was considered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work relieved him of any farming.

634 66 426 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence [126] [439] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For Tulawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all [614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary [239] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.

556 123 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay. [152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us [428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

/282/

582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

/136 cont./

614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

• 595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen [622] (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also."

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jauru (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 582 591 [586] One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

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121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to himself he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragéda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragéda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *To Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *To Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is *mêdo*, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
●595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."